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ANALYSIS OF RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE EUROPEAN UNION AND THE UNITED STATES IN THE PERIOD THE PRESIDENCY OF DONALD TRUMP (2017-2020)

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Abstract

The European Union has met Donald Trump's presidency in a crisis, caused by Britain's exit, quarrels over migration policy and prospects for European integration. Trump has abandoned a project to create a transatlantic free trade area. He demanded a one-sided trade advantage for the United States. The rejection of the liberal project of multilateral foreign policy contributed to the deepening of contradictions between the EU and the US in the field of trade, environment, the regime of international disarmament treaties, the algorithm for resolving regional conflicts. The Trump era in US foreign policy was a time of abandoning liberal globalism. But it is impossible to realize this task in one cadence. The question is whether it is possible for Democrats to fully restore liberal globalism in equal cooperation with the European Union.

Trump has abandoned the project of a transatlantic free trade area between the United States and the European Union. This shocked the European elites. Differences in approaches to world trade contributed to the coolness. The European Union is promoting a liberal approach. Trump insisted on the priority of the patronage of American interests. As a result, the tradition of relationships has suffered. Until 2017, the United States bought European goods and paid the most to the NATO budget. Trump demanded trade parity and more European funding for NATO. European elites perceived Trump's approach to migration issues as unacceptable. Trump's policy on international conflicts has become another reason for mutual misunderstanding. Trump recognized Jerusalem as the capital of Israel and helped establish diplomatic relations between Israel and the United Arab Emirates. This has become a challenge for the European Union's Middle East policy.

Keywords: US foreign policy, European Union, isolationism, liberal globalism, Trump.

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1. Introduction

The United States remains the most powerful country in the world, but its share in the balance of power is declining. The European Union has met Trump's presidency in a state of transformation. The process of adaptation of new countries to the norms of the European Union continued. On June 23, 2016, the United Kingdom held a referendum on leaving the EU. This decision was the strongest blow to the liberal international order. This crisis was accompanied by quarrels over the EU's migration policy. It was clear to the majority in the EU that if the EU were deprived of a common currency and regulatory structure, it would be extremely destructive and costly. The reason for the distrust of EU citizens in integration is its success, embodied in too many areas of private life. For Trump, the European Union is an example of the liberal globalization he opposes. Illegal migration is a symptom of unrest outside Europe. Trump proposed to build a border wall with Mexico. He tried to persuade the EU to do what the United States needed. Trump buried the project of creating a Transatlantic Free Trade Area. He believes that the imperial burden undermines the foundations of prosperity and stability. An important postulate of Trump's foreign

policy was to give priority to relations between the United States and China, which is America's main competitor in the struggle for the role of hegemony. Especially since China is destroying jobs in the United States.

Aim of research is analyze the peculiarities of relations between the European Union and the United States during the presidency of Donald Trump.

2. Material and Methods

Disagreements between the EU and the US on the global agenda were observed at the beginning of the 21st century under the administration of George W. Bush. Then came the terms «old Europe», led by Germany and France, and «new Europe», led by Poland. However, under President Barack Obama's administration, the United States returned to liberal globalism and cooperated with the European Union. The Transatlantic Free Trade Area was to become a strategic project. However, the Obama administration has faced controversy over environmental policy in its relations with the EU [1, p. 8]. These contradictions became even more acute under the Trump administration. The 45th President of the United States has abandoned the liberal model of rapprochement with the European Union. Washington demanded unilateral trade preferences. Security policy has become an instrument of influence on the EU. Trump has threatened to reduce Germany's military presence [2, p. 4]. The US Democrats insist on maintaining the presence of US ground forces and aircraft in Europe and on increasing the navy and aircraft in the Asia-Pacific region. The European Union has taken a wait-and-see attitude towards the Trump administration. This was due to the weakening of the EU as a result of negotiations on the withdrawal of Great Britain. In addition, the military-political and coordination components of the EU's common foreign and security policy were ineffective [3, p. 5–6]. Trump demanded that European allies pay for security themselves [4, p. 2]. During the presidential election campaign, Trump accused Democrats of involvement in a coup attempt in July 2016 in Turkey [5, p. 2]. Trump distanced himself as much as possible from relations with the European Union as an institution [6, p. 1]. Disagreements between the US and the EU concerned even the fundamental democratic values of freedom of speech [7, p. 1]. In the scientific literature, there are different views on the possibility of a radical revision of the foreign policy course, implemented by Trump [8, p. 2]. Research methods are based on a combination of the principles of historicism, objectivity and systematics using analytical, synthetic descriptive, comparative methods. The article examines the problems of formation of the European policy of the Trump administration and the main consequences of its implementation.

2. 1. The first steps of the European policy of the Trump administration

On January 27, 2017, the British Prime Minister T. May visited Washington. The issue of creating a free trade zone between Great Britain and the United States was discussed. Trump called for a stronger strategic partnership with Britain after the latter left the European Union. However, in 2018, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom changed. Opponents call Boris Johnson «British Trump». However, by the end of Trump's first presidential term, the transition period for Britain's withdrawal from the EU was not over. As a result, the parameters of relations between Britain and the EU after BREXIT were unclear. On June 1, 2017, US President Trump announced the withdrawal of the United States from the Paris Agreements on Climate Change Prevention. This has deepened the conflict between the EU and the US. In early July 2017, Trump made his first official tour of Europe. On July 6, 2017, in Warsaw, US President Trump met with the heads of state of the Baltic, Black and Adriatic seas. A political impetus was given to the development of the Three Seas project, which was to replace Europe's relations with Russia and China. Trump's special position was manifested on July 7–8, 2017 during the G20 summit in Hamburg. German Chancellor Merkel told Trump that her role in Donbass is «not to be a mediator, but to contribute» to resolving the situation. For Trump, Germany has become a generalization of everything that irritates him in American liberal globalists. Also in Hamburg, US President Dmitry Trump held his first meeting with Russian President Vladimir Putin [9, p. 1]. However, there was no «big deal» on the division of spheres of influence. On January 29, 2018, the Law «On Countering US Opponents through Sanctions» came into force. The President of the United States has lost the opportunity

to lift the sanctions regime alone without the Congress and the Senate. Chaos was observed in the Trump administration. On March 24, 2018, the famous neoconservative John Bolton became Trump's national security adviser. On September 10, 2019, he left this position. Trump's policy of recognizing Jerusalem as the capital of Israel proved unacceptable to the EU. The United States has withdrawn from disarmament treaties. On April 3, 2018 in Washington, US President D. Trump held talks with the Presidents of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. The United States has condemned the construction of the «Northern European Gas Pipeline». Trump has demanded that the European Union buy American liquefied natural gas if Europe wants to sell high-tech products to the United States. On May 31, 2018, US President D. Trump imposed customs restrictions on trade with the EU, Canada and Mexico. On October 21, 2018, US President Trump announced the withdrawal of the United States from the regime of the 1987 Treaty on Short-Range and Medium-Range Missiles. It is symbolic, that the midterm elections to the US Congress on November 6, 2018 recorded the victory of the Democrats in the House of Commons, but the Democrats did not win a majority in the Senate. On December 13, 2018, the US House of Representatives adopted three important resolutions for Ukraine. The first condemned Russia's aggression against Ukraine in the Kerch Strait. The document called on Russia to immediately return military boats and their crews, stop violating Ukraine's sovereignty and obstruct Ukrainian shipping through the Kerch Strait. The congressmen called on US President Donald Trump to make Russia responsible for the aggression against Ukraine. In another resolution, the House of Representatives opposed the completion of the Nord Stream-2 gas pipeline. Trump has been required to use available tools to support Europe's energy security through a policy of reducing its dependence on Russian energy. The third resolution recognized the Holodomor of 1932–1933 as genocide of the Ukrainian people.

2. 2. Radicalization of European policy in the second half of the first presidential term of Trump

On April 3–4, 2019, a meeting of NATO Foreign Ministers, dedicated to the 70th anniversary of the Alliance, took place in Washington. Trump called on European allies to increase military spending. The guarantees of the collective security of NATO countries were in question. NATO's enlargement process should be suspended until the Alliance is able to fully meet its current commitments, and future members meet all the conditions for accession. Trump also made original demands on European countries. He offered to buy Greenland. On August 15, 2019, Denmark rejected US President Trump's offer to buy Greenland. The United States wanted to declare the Northern Sea Route near Russia's borders international waters [10, p. 13]. An independent prosecutor's investigation revealed that Trump put pressure on Ukrainian President Zelensky, demanding compromising materials on his successor Joseph Biden. The case came to the impeachment procedure. On December 18, 2019, the Democratic majority of the US House of Commons voted to impeach US President Trump. But on February 5, 2020, Republican senators in the Senate voted against impeachment of Trump. There were 47 senators for impeachment and 53 senators against it. The corona virus pandemic has made adjustments to world politics. On March 14, 2020, US President Dmitry Trump closed the US border for flights from Europe due to a corona virus pandemic. An emergency was declared. With the onset of the corona virus pandemic, the world plunged into a hybrid global war. The defining trends were: falling oil and gas prices, the beginning of a cyclical economic recession, deteriorating military and political situation in key regions, the collapse of the arms control system, the escalation of the US-China confrontation. The beginning of the global systemic crisis covered the epidemiological, economic, political, military-strategic, and civilizational dimensions of world politics. The structural crisis of the world economy is accompanied by socio-political instability, increasing political radicalism and populism, increasing the onset of authoritarian tendencies, as well as the actualization of the risks of regional conflicts. The economic processes in the world are becoming more and more politicized. The greater the risk of a global US-China armed conflict, the more frequent the escalation of local regional conflicts. In the summer of 2020, the United States prevented a direct armed clash between Greece and Turkey. Trump refused to continue the course of maximum rapprochement

with the EU. He professes conservative isolationist values, while the EU offers joint transatlantic leadership in the process of liberal globalization.

3. Research Results

Trump's European policy focuses as much as possible on the structure of the foreign policy paradigm of the 45th President of the United States. His slogans «America above all» and «Make America great again» testify to the ideology that no country can develop other than at the expense of others. This is a way to neglect joint international efforts. Trump sees the world as a battlefield, on which each country seeks to dominate all others. Nations compete with each other, trying to destroy competitors. This ideology contradicts the ideology of the common foreign policy of the European Union, which focuses on multilateralism, protection of international law, and responsible cooperation. Trump's foreign policy focused on the effective work of the government to ensure American competitiveness and national security.

The reasons for Donald Trump's victory in 2016 remain controversial in Europe. European conservatives are convinced that this was a victory for the traditional values of the American Deep People over the liberal values of the American Deep State. The unresolved question remains what was Trump's victory. This is a failure of the liberal political system, which allowed a populist to come to power, or is it a symptom of a crisis in the democratic system. The relevance of this issue remains, since it is also associated with European political processes. Trump's presidency has been a challenge for the European Union. It questioned the liberal values of European integration. The European Union turned out to be unprepared for risks. Trump has built relations with the member states of the European Union on a bilateral basis. He did not take seriously the institutions of the European Union. The European Union has never been able to develop a common policy on the Trump phenomenon. In the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, the Trump presidency was seen as an opportunity to develop relations with the United States. The Baltic countries have obtained additional security guarantees from Trump. Poland received a project to create American military bases. American missile defense systems have been deployed in Bulgaria and Romania. Against this background, Germany entered into negotiations to reduce the number of American soldiers on its territory. The results of Trump's presidency will be discussed for a long time in the historiography of Euro-Atlantic relations.

4. Conclusions

1. Trump's isolationism is conditional. The decision to stay away from events entails no less consequence than the decision to intervene in the situation. The United States should not demonstrate to its allies that political divisions within the country are undermining allied commitments. American liberals question the ability of Trump to hand over responsibly to the next administration without threatening national security. Trump sees foreign policy as a tool for implementing domestic policies, aimed at restoring US dominance. He seeks the recognition of Israel by the Arab states. Trump has revised disarmament agreements with Russia. The toxic legacy remains in relations with Iran and China.

2. The Global Alliance of Democracies has not been established in four years. Liberals believe that Trump's America is leading in all evil. If Trump is re-elected, the world order, led by the United States, will collapse. If he loses, in the worst case he will try to protest the result. The Trump era in US foreign policy was a time of abandoning liberal globalism. But it is impossible to realize this task in one cadence. The question is whether it is possible for Democrats to fully restore liberal globalism in equal cooperation with the European Union.

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